

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01  
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-06 HA-05 ACDA-12 /098 W  
-----106097 041447Z /41

R 030920Z MAR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY NDJAMENA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6480  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
DIA WASHDC  
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

C O N F I D E N T I A L NDJAMENA 0903

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PGOV, PINT, CD  
SUBJECT: SHIFTING INTERNAL ALIGNMENT OF SUPREME MILITARY  
COUNCIL (SMC)

REF: NDJAMENA 0729 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: IN REVIEWING OUR ASSESSMENT OF THE INTERNAL ALIGN-  
MENT OF THE SMC MADE TEN DAYS AGO, WE ARE REMINDED OF  
MENCKEN'S REMARK: QUOTE THERE IS AN EASY SOLUTION TO  
EVERY HUMAN PROBLEM -- NEAT, PLAUSIBLE, AND WRONG. UNQUOTE.  
IN FAIRNESS TO OURSELVES, OUR ASSESSMENT MIGHT HAVE BEEN  
CORRECT TEN DAYS AGO, BUT WITH THE CONVERSION OF GOUARA  
LASSOU TO LIBYA, IT IS UNDERGOING AN EXTENSIVE CHANGE.  
EXACT FORM NEW RELIAGNMENT WILL TAKE IS NOT YET CLEAR. THE  
GENERAL POSITION OF THE CASE OF CHARACTERS IS AS FOLLOWS:

1. MALLOUM (PRESIDENT OF SMC), WHILE ALMOST SHATTERED  
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PERSONALLY BY THE TURN OF EVENTS, IS CARRYING ON BY REFLEX  
AND THESE REFLEXES ARE NOT AT ALL BAD. HE IS ON ONE HAND  
PURSUING ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE FRENCH FOR MILITARY SUPPORT,  
AND ON THE OTHER CONTINUING THE NEGOTIATIONS AGREED UPON  
AT SEBHA. HE IS TAKING NO PUBLIC POSITION ON THE FIRST  
ITEM AND IS CLEARLY AVOIDING STRONG PERSONAL IDENTIFICATION  
WITH THE SECOND.

DJIME (VICE PRESIDENT OF SMC) IS NOW EN ROUTE TO TAKE UP BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH QADHAFI. HE WILL PROVE TO BE A SMOOTH, FIRM, AND SERIOUS NEGOTIATOR. HOWEVER, HIS PERSONAL DISTRUST OF QADHAFI CANNOT HELP BUT INFLUENCE NEGOTIATIONS. HIS POWER BASE IN CHAD, BEING CONTROL OF THE GENDARMERIE WHICH IS NOW THE MOST POWERFUL INTERNAL ORGANIZATION, REMAINS FIRM.

KAMOUGUE (FOREIGN MINISTER), HAVING RETURNED FROM THE FIASCO IN NEW YORK, IS SULKING IN HIS TENT. ACCORDING TO OIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE WHO ACCOMPANIED HIM TO NEW YORK, KAMOUGUE WAS COMPLETELY DEMORALIZED BY THE FAILURE OF THE SMC TO KEEP HIM INFORMED OF ITS NEGOTIATIONS WITH QADHAFI AND FEELS PERSONALLY BETRAYED BY THE SMC. HE HAS BEEN ONE OF THE PRIMARY TARGETS OF ABUSE OF THE REBEL RADIO AND MUST FEEL THAT SOME OF HIS COMRADES IN ARMS NOW INTEND TO OFFER HIM UP AS A SACRIFICE. IN THIS MOOD, AND GIVEN HIS NATURAL ABILITY, HE IS A DANGEROUS MAN TO THE GOVERNMENT, BUT MAY FOR THE MOMENT LACK THE POWER TO ACT (ALTHOUGH HE REMAINS POPULAR WITH THE FRENCH).

GOUARA LASSOU (MINISTER OF EDUCATION) IS OBVIOUSLY BASKING IN THE POWER OF HIS NEW POSITION AND HE MAY WELL HAVE DREAMS OF GRANDEUR IN CONNECTION WITH A FUTURE COMPROMISE GOVERNMENT. HOWEVER, HIS DIRECT BASE OF POWER AT THIS POMENT IS CONFIDENTIAL

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LIMITED TO A SMALL RADICAL ELEMENT WITHIN THE ARMY.

ZAKARIA (MINISTER OF ENGINEERING, MINES AND GEOLOGY) HAS LOST HIS STATUS AS THE QUOTE NORTHERNER UNQUOTE IN THE GOVERNMENT. NOW HAS BEEN DEMOTED TO LITTLE MORE THAN ONE OF THE FEW CHADIANS WHO CAN FLY AN AIRPLANE. AS HE HAS ALSO BEEN ONE OF THE TARGETS OF REBEL RADIO, AND AS HE IS KNOWN TO BE EXTREMELY PRO-WESTERN, HE UNDOUBTEDLY FEARS FOR HIS FUTURE.

MAHAMOUD (MINISTER OF JUSTICE) IS NOW ACCOMPANYING DJIME TO TRIPOLI. HE HAS REPLACED ZAKARIA AS THE QUOTE NORTHERNER UNQUOTE IN THE GOVERNMENT, AND SEEMS TO BE COMPLETELY UNDER THE THUMB OF GOUARA LASSOU. HE COULD WELL WEATHER ANY CHANGE OAIN THE GOVERNMENT BROUGHT AZTUT BYHSENEGOTIATIONS.

ODINGAR (COMMANDER OF THE ARMY) HAS, UP TO THE PRESENT, STAYED CLEAR OF ANY GREAT INVOLVEMENT IN THE INTERNAL POLITICS OF THE SMC, BUT SEEMS TO BE IN THE PROCESS OF BECOMING MORE ACTIVE. HIS CHIPS ARE FEW IN VIEW OF THE SHATTERED STATE OF THE ARMY, BUT IF THE REMAINING TROOPS ARE LOYAL, HE COULD STILL BE INVOLVED IN KING MAKING IN NDJAMENA. THE

ARMY ITSELF SEEMS TO BE BECOMING MORE POLITICALLY ACTIVE.  
A SMALL GROUP IS FIRMLY BACKING GOUARA LASSOU, BUT A LARGER,  
MORE CONSERVATIVE PRO-FRENCH GROUP IS NOW BEING HEARD TO  
CRITICIZE THE SMC FOR ITS NON-ALIGNED POLICY IN THE PAST.  
THIS GROUP IS TAKING THE GROUND THAT HAD THE SMC NOT BEEN SO  
READY TO TAKE SOVIET ASSISTANCE, IT COULD COUNT ON MORE FIRM  
WESTERN ASSISTANCE AT THIS CRUCIAL TIME.

DJOGO (MINISTER OF PUBLIC HEALTH) IS VERY MUCH KEEPING HIS  
OWN COUNSEL, BUT AT THE SAME TIME CONTINUING TO WORK CLOSELY  
WITH THE FRENCH. IF PRESENT NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD FAIL, HE  
COULD WELL MOVE UP IN IMPORTANCE.

ROASNGAR (MINISTER OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT), FOR THE  
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MOMENT, SEEMS TO HAVE WITHDRAWN FROM ANY POLITICAL ACTIVITY.

KOTIGA (MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR), WHILE NOT A MEMBER OF  
THE SMC, HIS POSITION AS MINISTER OF INTERIOR AND HIS  
GENERAL BACKGROUND AND ABILITY HAVE MADE HIM ONE OF THE MOST  
IMPORTANT PROPS OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT. HE ALSO HAS  
BEEN ONE OF THE PRIMARY REBEL RADIO TARGETSM

2. THE COMMON THREAD THAT RUNS THROUGH THE PREVIOUS ASSESS-  
MENT IS THE PERCEIVED PERSONAL DANGER BY THE INDIVIDUALS  
INVOLVED AS TO THEIR FUTURE SHOULD THE REBELS TAKE OVER OR  
GAIN A PREDOMINANT HAND IN THE GOVERNMENT. AN ALIGNMENT ON  
THIS BASIS 97)\$ 33. )9&8-), BUT HAS NOT YET CLEARLY  
EMERGED. ON SUCH A BASIS, THOSE WITH THE MOST TO LOSE,  
PROBABLY EXECUTION OR IMPRISONMENT, WOULD BE KAMOUGUE, KOTIGA,  
AND ZAKARIA. MALLOUM, DJOGO, AND DJIME MIGHT WELL FACE  
EXILE OR AT LEAST EXCLUSION FROM PUBLIC LIFE OR POSITION.  
OUTLOOKS FOR ODINGAR AND ROASNGAR ARE NOT CLEAR. GOUARA  
LASSOU AND MAHAMOUD COULD WELL PROFIT BY SUCH A CHANGE.

3. IN WEIGHING THE FOREGOING, IT MUST BE CONSTANTLY BORNE  
IN MIND THAT WE ARE VIEWING A CHADIAN SITUATION FROM A  
WESTERN PERSPECTIVE. THIS CAN BE HIGHLY MISLEADING. ITEMS  
SUCH AS PUBLIC COMMITMENT TO POLITICAL POSITIONS, WHICH  
APPEAR OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO US, ARE NOT ALWAYS AS IMPORTANT  
TO CHADIANS; CONVERSELY, ITEMS WHICH WE MIGHT CONSIDER MORE  
MINOR, SUCH AS FAMILY TIES, CAN BE MONUMENTAL. BRADFORD

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## Message Attributes

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